

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
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R 140923Z JAN 77  
FM USLO PEKING  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7083  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, CH  
SUBJ: PROVINCIAL TRAVEL: SHANGHAI

1. SUMMARY. OPEN CRITICISM IN SHANGHAI OF THE ASSOCIATES OF THE GANG OF FOUR SEEMS TO HAVE LAPSED A MONTH AGO, THOUGH POSTER ATTACKS ARE STILL ON VIEW. CHOU EN-LAI IS BEING MOURNED WITH ENTHUSIASM, BUT IN AN ORDERLY FASHION. TENG HSIAO-PING WAS NOT MENTIONED. END SUMMARY.

2. IN SHANGHAI AT THE SAME TIME AS THE AMBASSADOR BUT TRAVELING SEPARATELY, USLO OFFICER VISITED THE CITY FROM JANUARY 7-10. SHANGHAI PUBLICLY DISPLAYED A HIGH DENSITY OF WALL POSTERS, OF BOTH THE INSTITUTIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL VARIETIES, AND SHANGHAI FACTORIES WERE PLASTERED WALL-TO-WALL. POSTERS ATTACKING INDIVIDUALS IN THE SHANGHAI GOVERNMENT FOR THEIR LINKS TO THE GANG OF FOUR WERE STILL UP, BUT NONE WERE DATED LATER THAN NOVEMBER 1976.

3. MOST PROMINENT IN THE DOWNTOWN AREA WAS A HUGE BILLBOARD ON WHICH CHAPTERS EIGHT AND NINE, PERHAPS 15,000 CHARACTERS IN ALL, CONCLUDED WHAT APPARENTLY HAD BEEN A SERIES OF POSTERS ATTACKING THE GANG OF FOUR.

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FOUR AND THEIR ALLEGED SUPPORTERS IN SHANGHAI. MUCH OF CHAPTER EIGHT WAS DEVOTED TO CRITICISM OF HSU CHING-HSIEN, ATTEMPTING TO PROVE THROUGH ANALYSIS OF HIS PUBLIC CONFESSION THAT HE HAD NOT SUFFICIENTLY DISTANCED HIMSELF FROM THE GANG OF FOUR. OTHER POSTERS IN THE DOWNTOWN AREA CALLED FOR THE REMOVAL OF HSU, MA TIEN-SHUI AND WANG HSIU-CHEN. A NUMBER OF

LOCAL GRIEVANCES WERE AIRED, SUCH AS THE PROTESTS OF A GROUP OF STUDENTS SENT TO THE COUNTRY UNDER CENTRAL DOCUMENT NO. 159 OF 1968. SLOGANS WELCOMING THE ARRIVAL OF THE THREE NEW PARTY SECRETARIES (SU, NI, AND P'ENG) TO SHANGHAI WERE ALSO COMMON.

4. SLOGANS COMMEMORATING THE DEATH OF CHOU WERE BEING POSTED IN LARGE NUMBER THROUGHOUT SHANGHAI JANUARY 8 AND CONSTITUTED THE VAST MAJORITY OF COMMENTARY SEEN IN ACTORY VISITS JANUARY 8 AND 9. POEMS ABOUT CHOU, CHOU PORTRAITS AND EXHORTATIONS TO STUDY CHOU'S WORKS WERE WIDESPREAD. FACTORY WORKERS WERE CALLED ON TO STUDY CHOU'S WRITING ON "TUI TI TOU CHENG" (FIGHTING THE ENEMY) AND ON "YI HUA SAN TZU" (GRASP ONE, PROMOTE THREE). MANY FACTORIES, INCLUDING ONE VISITED BY USLO OFFICER, HAD MEMORIAL MEETINGS OF ALL PERSONNEL ON JANUARY 8.

5. POSTERS OBSERVED BY USLO OFFICER DURING VISITS AS THE GUEST OF FOREIGN STUDENTS AT FUTAN UNIVERSITY AND THE SHANGHAI NO. 2 MEDICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE WERE EQUALLY DIVIDED BETWEEN ORTHODOX EXPRESSIONS OF ANTI-GANG OF FOUR SENTIMENT AND POEMS TO CHOU EN-LAI. STUDENTS REPORTED THAT POSTER ACTIVITY AT BOTH SCHOOLS SINCE THE FALL OF THE GANG OF FOUR HAD BEEN RESTRICTED TO AUTHORIZED AREAS AND AUTHORIZED THEMES. THERE HAVE BEEN NO DISRUPTION OF CLASSES OR CHANGES OF PERSONNEL OF WHICH THEY ARE AWARE. ONE RUMOR NOW BEING RETAILED BY STUDENTS IN SHANGHAI HAS THE GANG CONFIDENTIAL

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OF FOUR BEING TRIED IN SHANGHAI SOON. FOREIGN EXPERTS LIVING IN THE SHANGHAI MANSIONS REPORT THE HOTEL IS FULL OF CADRE GUESTS, SOME OF WHOM HAVE BEEN SEEN READING WHAT APPEARED TO BE AN "OFFICIAL" INDICTMENT OF THE GANG OF FOUR.

6. NO POSTERS CRITICIZING TENG WERE IN SIGHT AND HIS NAME WAS NOT MENTIONED. A CHINA TRAVEL SERVICE GUIDE, IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS ABOUT TENG, RESPONDED THAT ONLY HE STILL RETAINED HIS PARTY MEMBERSHIP AND THAT HIS ERRORS SHOULD NOT BE CLASSED WITH THE CRIMES OF THE GANG OF FOUR. SIMILARLY, POLITICAL COMMENT DURING FACTORY VISIT BRIEFING WAS VERY ABBREVIATED, LIMITED TO BAR CITING OF HUA'S SPEECH TO THE TACHAI CONFERENCE AND MAO'S ESSAY ON THE TEN MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS.

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## Message Attributes

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